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Marginal Remarks on the History of Some Persian Words*

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Abstract

The paper includes historical comments on several Persian words from classical texts and vernacular language, particularly the lexical group denoting 'mandrake', some other plant-names ('water-cress', 'fenugreek'), adjectives and social terms ('bald', 'prostitute', 'lame'), names of body-parts ('head', 'thigh'), traditional food, kinship terms ('firstling'), honorific titles ('lord; rich merchant', 'a name of God'), animal-names ('frog, toad'), etc.

Keywords

Persian Historical Lexicology, Iranian Plant-names, Mandrake, Water-cress, Fenugreek

1. MANDRAKE IN PERSIAN

Despite the indigenous nature of the mandrake (*Mandragora* L.) to the Mediterranean area, Iran, Central Asia, Northern India and Western China, the Iranian dialects, including Persian, have no original terms for this plant, probably because in the historical period it was already an extinct (or sporadic) species within the floristic nomenclature of Iran and, likely, Central Asia. Currently mandrake is totally absent from the flora of Iran. The Old and MIran. texts, too, lack a proper term for this herb. Generally, the idea of mandrake as a plant with hallucinogenic effects has been merged with belladonna, deadly nightshade (*Atropa* L., *A. belladonna* L.), bryony (*Bryonia* L.), and even henbane (*Hyoscyamus* L.).

The magic properties ascribed to mandrake, combining both benign and evil qualities, its ability to heal and injure or kill, as well as to bestow on humans fertility and love strength, made this plant an object of awesome veneration. In folk imagination mandrake was conceived as a sensate being with obvious ties to underworld forces.

* Due to technical limitations, the bibliographical references in this paper are presented in a considerably reduced form.

It was believed that when dug up, the mandrake produces terrible shrieks and groans, which are capable of killing people. All these conditioned the fear concerning the dangers of disturbing it. Therefore, in order to avoid the risk involved, gatherers resorted to the use of dogs (in some accounts, black ones) in pulling the root of mandrake from the earth, and stuffed their ears so that they could not hear the shrieks of the plant. The dogs were supposed to die from the horrible noise.

The root of mandrake is commonly known to resemble the form of a human body, with two legs and, sometimes, a short additional scion similar to the penis of a man.

Among Iranian dialects in fact only Persian has direct denominations for mandrake—descriptive terms like *mihr-giyāh* (lit. ‘love-plant’), *mar-dum-giyāh* (lit. ‘man(-like) plant’), *sag-kuš* (lit. ‘dog slayer’), *sag-šikan* (lit. ‘dog breaker’), *sag-kan* (lit. ‘dog-dug’), and *mandagōr(a)* or *mandayūr* (*mandrāyōras*, *mandrāyōra*), which is likely a loan-word from later Byz. Greek *μανδραγόρας*. In Modern Pers. vulgar speech *mandayūr* means ‘giant-like man, a lanky person’, probably by analogy with *landahūr*.

In case when in folk beliefs mandrake is meant, Western New Iran. dialects use either above Pers. forms or refer to a general name like ‘magic plant’, etc.

Probably, the original name of this mysterious plant was a substrate term hidden under Gr. *μανδραγόρας*, from which Lat. *mandragoras* and Arm. *manragor* are borrowed (Beekes 2010: 900). For mandrake Arm. has also *Adami glux* (lit. ‘Adam’s head’) (cf. Turk. *adam kökü*, lit. ‘man’s root’), *Solomon-imastuni car* (lit. ‘Solomon’s tree’), and *marda-xot* (lit. ‘human (-like) plant’) = Gr. *ἀνθρωπόμορφος* ‘id.’. The so-called ‘diabolic’ nature of mandrake and its ability to bring on madness conditioned also the emergence of such names for it as Arab. *tufāḥ al jinn* (lit. ‘jinn’s apple’), or *tufāḥ al-majānīn* (lit. ‘apple of mads’).

The following two plant-names, along with their ordinary meanings, denote also ‘mandrake’ in Persian.

a) *šā(h)bīzak* ‘dwale, deadly nightshade, belladonna, bane-wort’ (Ara-bicised *šābīzaj*, *sābīzaj*); also ‘mandrake’ (Karīmī 2002: N 1106); Syriac *sbysq* (*š’bysk*) (< Pers.) ‘mandrake’ (Ciancaglini 2008: 80, 219).—A compound with *šā(h)-* ‘black’ (cf. *šāh-tūt*) and *bīzak* ‘seed, grain’ meaning ‘(a plant with) black (dark) seeds’—an exact parallel to *šāhdāna* ‘hemp’. NPers. *šā(h)-* ‘black’ occurs only in compound words like *šāh-tūt* ‘black mulberry’, which folk etymology refers to *šāh* ‘king’, as if a kind of king-size, big mulberry. This *šā(h)-*, however, is a different form with transparent origin, from OIran. **syāwa-* ‘black’, with *-š-* < *sy-* as in Arm. (< Iran.) proper names *Šawasp*, *Šawarš* (=Pers. *Siyāvaš*), or in place-names,

Šāhrazūr, from *syāwa-razurā- ‘black wood’, and Šāmaspī, the name of a village near Ardabil, from Šām-aspīk (šām- < *syāma-); cf. also Sogd. š’w- ‘black’, Luri šah, Yaghnobi šōw, Oss. sāu ‘id.’, etc. As for bīz- in šā(h)bīzak, it must be a reflex of OIran. *bīza- ‘seed, grain; semen’; cf. Skt. bījā- ‘seed (of humans and plants)’, Buddh. Sogd. βyz’k /vīzē/e/ ‘seed’ (< *bīzaka-), Khot. Saka bījā ‘seed’ (< *bīz-ya-). Except for Parachi bīz ‘corn, grain’,¹ this lexeme has never been recorded before in Western NIran.² In NPers. vocabulary it is traced only in plant-names; cf. bīzad ‘feather grass, Eragrostis Host.’, from *bīz-zad (cf. ž/zad ‘gum’), lit. ‘seed-excretion’ (cf. other Pers. names of this plant ‘alaf-e qī-ye sag ‘dag’s vomit’s grass’, or tof ‘spit’; also Turk. tuf otu ‘dog’s spit’); vīj ‘Alexandrian laurel’; and vīzaz ‘wheat grass, Agropyron Gaertn.’, from *vīz-raz, lit. ‘garden-seed’ (raz ‘garden’) (Karīmī 2002: NN 330, 324, 2560, 2890). I recorded also Delijani vīž (vīždūna), Abuzeydabadi vēš, and Naraqī vēž ‘cotton-seed’ (Asatryan 2011: 418–419).

b) namām(ā) ‘sort of a fragrant wild herb, wild thyme or betony’. Pers. Farhangs give a large semantic spectrum for this plant-name, including ‘mandrake’ and ‘mint’ (Dehxodā: s.v.; Karīmī 2002: NN 1106, 4302). Not to be confused with its homograph, nm’m (nammām), Arab. ‘calumniator; accuser’.—Pahl. Ps. nm’mk[y] ‘Ölbaumplfanz’, Gurani namām ‘young plant, sapling’, Kalhori namām ‘sapling’ and, metaphorically, ‘a slim young man’, SKurd. namām ‘sapling’ (the latter is a loan from Gurani, because of -m-, instead of -v/-w-), Arm. namam ‘thyme’ (Andreas/Barr 1933: 139).

2. ʾ [an] ‘human ordure, excrement, faeces’

• A wide-spread lexeme in coll. Persian and in some dialects, including Xvansari and Central dialects; generally restricted to the territory of Iran. The word is written also with initial ‘ayn (ʿ) (see, e.g., Dehxodā: s.v.).—There is no convincing etymology so far; usually is considered to be a ‘baby-word’. However, the proto-form of this word is recorded in MPers. ‘bn’m /abnām/ ‘excrement’, a nominal form of abnām- ‘to cause to go out, escape’ < OIran. *apa-nāmaya-. The development of abnām through *a(β)nā(m) to an may be explained by the nasalisation of -b- and the loss of the final syllable in unstressed position (*án(n)ā > án), considering also the fact that the form belongs to the category of expres-

¹ Being a WIran. dialect, Parachi occupies a central position between EIran. and WIran. idioms; especially its vocabulary is under the heavy EIran. and Ind. influence.

² I could not find any bīj ‘seed’ in NPers., noted by Bailey (1979: 280), either in extant texts, or in classical vocabularies.

sive words. To a certain extent, this case can be compared with *an* (1 sing. pron.) in MMPers., coming from OPers. *adam* (Sims-Williams 1981: 166).

3. جنده [jinda/jende] ‘whore, prostitute’

• The Iranian intellectual tradition interprets this word either as a variant of *žinda* ‘(woman) clothed in rags’, from *žundī* ‘a woman travelling with army troops and earning money by prostitution’, or as a derivative of Pahl. *jah* (Av. *jahī-*) ‘the Whore, female arch-demon’. None is correct. Probably, an Indian loan-word; cf. Sindhi *jadho*, Panjabi *jaddhā*, *jaddho*, *jaddhñā*—from **yabdha-* ‘copulated’ (Skt. *yabh-* ‘to copulate’). The final *-da/eh* in Pers. *jinda* (*jende*) is often conceived by the speakers as a pres. st. of *dādan* ‘to give’, i.e. ‘giver of something’, by analogy with *kos-deh* ‘vulva-giver’ (cf. coll. *xār-kos-t/deh* ‘(one who has) a prostituting sister/vulva-giver sister’), or *kūn-deh* ‘a homo (lit. ‘ars-giver’), etc. Another possible source may be Hindi and Panjabi *chindāl*, *chināl/r* ‘harlot’ (cf. Thieme 1971: 311; CDIAL: NN 5048; 10416). J. Cheung (2007: 223) hesitantly derives Pers. *jinda* from OIran. **jai-* ‘to perish, to be corrupted; to destroy’.

4. خواجه [xʷāja] ‘lord, master, owner; a man of distinction, rich merchant; teacher; an honorific title for venerable men of pen or politicians’; also ‘eunuch, castrated man’

• Attested in many languages of the region, including Turkic. (*hoca*), Arm. (*xoja*), and even New Greek (*χοτζας*). The pejorative ‘eunuch’ is obviously of secondary origin—from *خواجه اندرون* [xʷāja-yi andarūn] ‘chief of harem, head of the castrates’.—The earliest attestation in Iranian is likely Khwar. *xwǰ(y)k* /*xwājīk*/ ‘Magister, ehrwürdiger Herr’ (Benzing 1983: 685). The Iranian etymologies proposed hitherto: < OIran. **hwā-ča-ka-* (< **hwa-ā-ča-ka-*) ‘master, owner’; < **hu-wāča-* ‘eloquent’ (< **wak-* ‘speak’ and ‘work’ as in Khwar. *wāc* ‘work’); and **hu-wāja-* (OIran. **aug-/wag-*, Av. *aog-* < IE **uegʰh-* ‘declare, announce’) again with the alleged meaning ‘eloquent; orator’ (all suggested by M. N. Bogolyubov).

More likely, however, NPers. *xʷāja* is a loan-word from the old language of Kashghar, from a local reflex of Prakrit *uvajjhāa-* ‘master’ (< Skt. *upādhyāya-*) (Pelliot 1959: 211–214; CDIAL: N 2301).

5. شل (1) [šil] ‘spear, javelin, trident, harpoon’

• Cf. Pahl. *sil* ‘javelin’, *sil-vāzīk* ‘javelin-play’; from Indo-Aryan; cf. Skt. *śilī-* ‘dart, arrow; kind of weapon’, Hindi *šil* ‘a short spear, javelin’. Sogd. *šδ-/šəδ/* ‘neck’ (in *šδ’ych* /*šəδēč/* ‘necklace’ ?) for semantical reasons cannot

be adduced here, although it could normally give in Pers. *šil*. Instead, Middle Arm. and Arm. dial. *šil*- ‘neck’ (in *šl̄ni*, *šlin-k*’, *šlli-k*’, *šalək*’, *šallok*’, etc.) may be from an early Pers. **šil* ‘neck’ (< Sogd. *šəδ-* if the latter means, indeed, ‘neck’) (CDIAL: NN 12466, also 12343, 12344, 12352).

6. شل (2) [šal] ‘thigh (of humans or animals)’

• Also شلنگ [šalang/šiling] ‘id.’, with coll. Pers. suff. *-a/ing* (< *-ak* with nasal infix), widely attested in WNIran. dialects, e. g., in Kurdish; or, maybe, from **šal-lang* (*lang* ‘leg’).—If not an ideophone (cf. Lak (Caucasian) *ša* ‘pace, step’), then it can be, indeed, a cognate of Gr. *σκέλος* ‘thigh, leg’, from IE **skel-o-*, as suggested by Horn (1893: N 789; idem 1898/1901: 55). Despite Hübschmann’s objection (1895: 80), the mentioned IE proto-form could have yielded in Iranian **šara-*, through intermediary **ščara-*, becoming later *šal*.

7. شل (3) [šal] ‘lame, crippled’

• Cf. denom. verb. شلیدن [šalīdan] ‘to limp, be lame’.—Most likely from *šal* (‘thigh’) regarding the parallelism between the names of body-parts and diseases or defects of the same organs; cf. also Khwar. *C’l* ‘lame’ (Benzing 1983: 213), Kurd. *šil* ‘id.’, etc. The similarity with Arab. *šall* is probably accidental.

8. شل (4) [šul/šol] ‘slack; loose, lax; soft; languid; loosely; slackly’

• Cf. in coll. Pers. شل و ول [šol-o-vel] ‘negligent; careless, slipshod; slovenly; untidy’ (with *vel* ‘loose’); *šol kardan* ‘to let loose’.—Possibly an ideophone; cf. Kurd. *šil* ‘wet, moist; soft’, Arm. dial. *šəli* ‘loose; untidy’, etc.

9. شمبلیله [šambalīla/šambalīle] ‘fenugreek, Trigonella Faenum-graec. L.’

• Attested in many variants: شنبلیذ [šanbalīd], شنبلید [šanbalīd], شملید [šamlīd], شنبلیده [šanbalīda], شنبلیت [šanbalīt], شنبلیله [šanbalīla], شمبلیل [šambalīl], شنبلیله [šanbalīla], شملیز [šamlīz]; Arabicised شملیدج [šamlīdaǰ].—A favourite condiment of traditional Persian cuisine, largely used also in folk medicine as a drug for external treatments. Fenugreek has long been known as a good forage, too; in the ancient Mesopotamian documents it is mentioned, therefore, in the same group as *aspasti šAR*, i.e. ‘lucerne’.—Pahl. *šambalītak* ‘id.’ could have produced all of the above NPers. forms: I believe, they are dialectal variants of this lexeme and not misspellings of a single form; Arab. *šamlīdaǰ* reflects possibly a later

MPers. *šam(b)līdag; Arm. šamlitak ‘kind of flower’ goes back to a MPers. *šam(b)lītak. The ultimate source is Akk. šambaliltu (šambalilti) ‘fenu-greek’ (cf. Aram. šabbeliltā, Syr. p^llītā), consisted of šam (cf. šammu ‘plant, grass, vegetable’) and balilti, which can be referred to Hebrew b^ll ‘fodder’ (Hooper / Field 1937: 180-181; Thomson 1949: 8, 64 ff., 199).

10. فسنجان [fesenjān], فسوجن [fusūjun] ‘a popular Iranian dish (kind of stew)

• This dish is made of poultry (usually duck or chicken) cut to pieces, or minced mutton, with chopped walnut (or almond), pomegranate sauce (or tomato paste) and various spices.—In coll. Pers. *fesenjūn*, in Gil. *fūsūnjā/an*, Central dialects *fesenjō(n)*. Possibly of a regional origin penetrated into literary and coll. Persian. It is commonly believed to be a favourite dish in the province of Gilan. However, judging by the phonetical appearance of the term, it must be of rather Central Iranian provenance, namely from Kashan-Natanz area, which is renown for its cuisine including a rich nomenclature of different elaborate dishes. The people of Kashan have especially been distinguished by their skills in preparing a large variety of salted foods and pickles from crushed vegetables, etc.—If the word is, indeed, of Central Iranian background, it should be a Pers. adaptation of the local (say, Abz. or Aby.) *fesenjō(n)*. The latter is a verbal noun from the pres. st. of *feset-* (*fesess-*) (‘to tear, split, crush’), i.e. *fese/anj-*, with suffix *-ō(n)* (< *-ān*). The primary meaning of the word would be then ‘[a dish cooked from] minced (crushed, chopped, cut) [products]’. Initially it could be just an attribute to the staple product (meat, poultry, vegetables, etc.) the dish was prepared of, not the name of the cuisinary item itself (like *fesenjān-e morγ*, *fesenjān-e gūšt*, or *xotkā* (‘duck’)-*fesenjūn*, etc.). The verb itself has a transparent etymology, from OIran. *said- ‘to break, split; destroy’, with preverb *wi- (not *apa-). In these dialects, OIran. *wi- regularly yields *fe-* (or *fi-*): *feyōma* ‘pretext’ (cf. Pahl. *vihānak*, NPers. *bahāna*), *feray* ‘thunderbolt’ (MMPers. *virōg* < OIran. *wi-rauka-), etc. (Cheung 2007: 326-327; Asatryan 2011: 149-150).

11. کچل [kačal] ‘bald, one who has no hair on his head that is marked with wounds or scars, or is affected with ring-worm’

• Possibly here also کجله [kaǰala] ‘magpie’, perceived as bald-head bird, with suffix *-la*. A word of highly emotional charge in Modern Pers. mostly with negative connotation, although ‘baldness’ is regarded in Iranian folk tradition usually as a sign of shrewdness and natural wisdom.—An obvious later creation in NPers., widely attested also in al-

most all languages and dialects of the region—Iranian and non-Iranian (cf. Kurd. *k'ač/č'al*, Arm. *k'ač'al*, Turk. *keçel*, Georg. *kačali*, etc.). No attestation in any Mİran. and early NPers. text.³ Syr. *kgl* 'bald' (Ciancaglini 2008: 81, 189) reflects a dialectal NPers. **kaǰal*. Generally, no term for 'bald' has been found in the extant corpus of texts in MPers. and Parth. Yet, based on indirect data one can assume two hypothetical signifiers for 'bald' in Western Middle Iranian: **karv* (or **kal*) and **kund*. The first persists in NPers. *kal* 'bald' (see following item), the second, in Arm. *kund* 'hairless, bald' (in the translation of the Bible and in the later language, including dialects). NPers. *kač'al* must certainly be a derivative of *kal*, with dimin. suffix *-ča*, i.e. from **kal-ča*, which could easily become *kač'al* in allegro speech, augmented later with the element *-l*, a common marker of pejorative notions. The derivation of *kač'al* by Schapka (1972: 224) from a hypothetical **a-kač'a-la* 'ohne Haupthaar, haarlos' (Skt. *kaca*- 'Haupthaar') is, of course, untenable.

12. كل [kal] 'bald, with deficient hair; person who has wounds or scars on his head'

• A common and possibly the main term for 'bald' in early NPers; cf. dimin. كلک [kal-ak] 'a small bald man, baldy'; کل چکاد [kal-čakād] 'scald-head' (with *čakād* 'forehead; summit').—Av. *kauruua-* 'bald' (< IE **kaluō-* 'bald, bare; skull; bend', cf. Skt. *kulva-*, Lat. *calvus* 'bald'); NPers. from OIran. **karwa-*; cf. Kurd. *k'al*, Gil., Semn. *kal*, Zaza *k'al* 'id.', Pashto *kal* 'hairless; mangy, scabby', Shughni *kal* 'bald', etc.

13. کلوا (ا) [kalāv(a)] 'frog; toad'

• From **kašāpa-* (< OIran. **kasyapa-*, Av. *kasiapa-* 'tortoise'), with *-l* < **-š-* and secondary lengthening of *-a-* in the second syllable under a false etymological correlation with *āb* 'water'; cf. the regular *kašaf* 'tortoise'. As regards the semantic aspect, there are at least two offspring of the same OIran. proto-form that manifest such a shift of meaning: Saka *khuysaa-* means 'tortoise' and 'frog', Oss. *xāfs(ā)*, only 'frog, toad'. In Oss. 'tortoise' is simply a frog with shield, *wärtjyn xāfs*, exactly as the Germ. *Schildkrote*, which is a toad, *Krote*, with shield, *Schild*.

³ Arm. *kač'atak* 'magpie' has a later attestation and can hardly be a Mİran. borrowing (and especially a loan from NPers. *kaǰala* as in Mallory/Williams 1997: 362), despite *-t-/γ/* (< pre-10th century *-l-*) and suffix *-ak*. It seems rather a nominal form with *-ak* from Arm. *kač'atel* 'to croak, caw', i.e. 'croaker, chatterer'. The regular reflex of New Pers. *kaǰala* in Arm. must have been **k'ajala*.

14. كله (1) [kalla/kalle] ‘head’

• A pejorative pair to neutral *sar* ‘head’, usually applied to the heads of animals or humans in scoldings. Here probably also *kalla* ‘hair of the head; tress, curls’. Occurs in most NIran. dialects (< Pers.): Kurd. *kal(l)a*, Tal. *kalla*, Lari *kalla*, Siv. *kalle*, Munji *kāla*, Ishk. *kalla*, Shughni *kāl*, etc.; also in non-Iran. languages: Arm. dial. *k’alla*, Turk. *kelle*, Capp. Gr. *κελές* (acc. *κελέν*, pl. *τα κελέδα*), etc.—May be from *kal* ‘bald’ (see above) extended by *-a* (< *-ak*); the gemination of *-l-* could be conditioned by the expressive nature of the word. The semantic shift from the defect of an organ to the whole organ (or *vice versa*), i.e. simply the ‘bald head’ to the ‘head’ is seen even in NPers. *kačal* (see above), which can denote sometimes the head itself (cf. in Pers. vern. *kačal-eš-o dīdam* ‘I saw his (bald) head’). It could occur due to an ellipsis from *sar-i kal(l)a* ‘the bald head’ → *kalla* ‘bald head’, and then → ‘head (with pejorative sense)’. However, with regard to this word, first comes to mind a comparison with Av. *kamərəda-* ‘head (of Daēvic creatures)’, Pahl. *kamāl* ‘id.’, and MMPers. *kamār* ‘head (of evil beings)’. Pahl./MMPers. *kamāl/r* is derived from **kamarda-*, but for *kalla* we have to admit a reduced grade of the root, **-mrd-*, taking for granted that *ka-* is an interrogative prefix in a pejorative sense (‘what a (hideous) head!’). OIran. **ka-mrda-* could only yield in NPers. **ka-mul-a(k)* (extended by *-ak*). The latter could have been developed further to *kalla* with the loss of *-u-* and assimilation of *-m-* to *-l-*, i.e. **kāmla* > *kalla*. A continuation of **ka-mrda-* is found in Kurd. as a fair reflex of intermediary **ka-mil-a(k)* (cf. *mil* ‘shoulder; neck’ < **mrzu-*), i.e. *kavil* (Kurm.), *kawil* (SKurd.) meaning ‘(animal) skin, hide, pelt, water-skin’.⁴ Another survival of the Daēvic vocabulary of Avestan in Kurd. could have been *zōdik*, *zōtik*, *zūtik* ‘anus; hemorrhoids’, from OIran. **zada-* (Av. *zaḍah-* ‘buttock’, a Daēvic opposition to Ahurian *sraoni-* ‘id.’; cf. OCS *zadŭ*, Russ. *zad*, Arm. *jet*, etc. < IE **ǵhedos-*), however, the root-vowel quality and the preservation of intervocalic *-d-* (otherwise regularly becoming *-h-* in Kurd.,—see Asatryan / Livshits 1994: 84–85, § V, 4) makes it less possible (with expressive gemination of *-d-* (**-dd-*), or under the influence of *nī(h)tik* ‘clitoris’?).

15. كودم [kōdim/kūdim] ‘a sort of plant (water-cress?)’

• Attested only in *Dastūr ul-afāḍil*, one the oldest classical Pers. glossaries compiled in the 14th century in India by Ḥāḍib-i Xayrāt Dihlavi; hardly

⁴ Despite NWIran. nature of Kurd., it demonstrates a regular tendency to **-rd-* > *-l-* in its basic vocabulary; also OIran. **-m-*, preserved in *anlaut*, becomes *-v-*/*-w-* in intervocalic position, except for later borrowings from NPers. and consonant group **-mb-* (for details, see Asatryan / Livshits 1994: 81, 95–98, §§ XIX, 2, 4, XXI, 9, 10).

related to NPers. قدومه [qodūme] ‘Erysimum’ and قودمك [qūdomak] ‘Alyssopsis Boiss.’ (Karīmī 2002: N 571).—The exact parallel is found in Middle Arm. *kotimn* (gen. *kotman*); in MoArm. and dialects *kotem*, *kotmuk* (suffix *-uk* is a universal formant in Arm. for plant-names), *ǰər-kotem* (i.e. ‘water-*kotem*’, *ǰər* ‘water’), *šən-kotem* (i.e. ‘dog-*kotem*’, *šun* ‘dog’), etc., denoting various species of herbs with pungent and spicy taste: ‘garden-cress’, ‘bitter-cress’, ‘pepper-grass’, ‘water-cress (*Nasturtium aquaticum* (or *officinale*), *cresson*)’, ‘hoary-cress’, and ‘Indian cress’. In Cappadocean Gr. *κότημο* ‘water-cress’ (< Arm.?). No other reliable associations are perceivable. Difficult to explain from Gr. *κάρδαμον* ‘nose-smart’, the latter being connected with Hitt. *karšani* ‘an alcalic plant’ and Skt. *kardama* ‘a species of plant’.—The parallelism between NPers. and Arm. (resp. Capp. Gr.) is beyond doubt. A borrowing from Pers. to Arm. or vice versa is less possible. A common source, rather of substrate nature, should be admitted, most likely Akkad. *kudimeranu*, *kudimēru*, the name of a sort of cress, *Lepidium sativum* L., whence, according to Thomson (1949: 59), Gr. *κάρδαμον* is originated (in Myc. Greek *ka-da-mi-ja*). Cf. also *kuddimmu* (var. *kuttimmu*) ‘a kind of salt or lye obtained from a plant’, which is attested in Old Assyrian (19th century B.C.) (CAD 8: 493). The direction of borrowing must be different: NPers. form could have come from Akkadian through Aramaic (though no attestation in Aramaic, Syriac, or Arabic is available), but Armenian probably inherited the word from its Hurrian legacy like most of the botanical terms in this language. The ultimate source of the Arm. form must have been Hurr. **kut(t)iman* or **kud(d)iman*. I recorded in the village of Rāmše in the Kashan area, in central Iran, as I believe, a direct cognate of the NPers. form, *qodome* (*qodomak*), meaning namely ‘water-cress’ (Asatrian 2011: 339).

16. گروگر [garō/ūgar] ‘one of the names of God, interpreted in Arabic as *šāni’ aššanāyi* (the creator of the arts)’ (Dehxodā: s.v.)

• Also گرگر [gargar] ‘id’. (Dehxodā: s.v., with further references).—If Pahl. *kirrōk*, MMPers. *kirrōg* ‘artisan, craftsman; skilled’ and *kirrōkīh* ‘arts, crafts, handicraft’ can really correspond to Arab. *šāni’* and *šan’a* (cf. Bailey 1943: 84, 227), then it is possible that the word is a NPers. reflex of MPers. *kirrōg* (Arm. *kīrog*-) augmented later by the agentive suffix *-gar*: from **kirrōg-gar* (> *kirrōggar* > *garō/ūgar*).

17. لات [lāt] ‘poor; rogue; vagabond; tough guy, hooligan’

• A colloquialism mostly used in urban vernaculars of Tehran and larger cities.—Probably an Indian element; cf. Nepali *lāṭhe* ‘stalwart fellow’,

lāto ‘fool’, *laṭṭha* ‘intoxicated’, *laṭṭhu* ‘foolish fellow’, Gujarati *laṭṭho* ‘stout fellow’, Kumauni *laṭhyūro* ‘idiot; rustic’, Assamese *laṭhā* ‘wifeless’, *lāthurā* ‘wicked; profligate’, etc. (Kuiper 1948: 80; CDIAL: 10917).

18. لوند (1) [lavand] ‘prostitute, whore; a naughty boy (mostly prone to homosexuality); coquettish; easy to access woman; a young male servant’

• Attested already in the Classical Literature. In Modern Pers. is used for characterising primarily a coquettish woman or girl, or those females who have an appealing behaviour.—There are likely two *lavand*-s (the other means ‘free; volunteer; soldier; adventurer’, from Gr. *λεβέντης*) given usually under one entry. This one is a loan-word from Indian; cf. Hindi *lauṇḍā* ‘boy’, Phalura *lawāṇḍī* ‘unmarried woman’, Marathi *lavāḍī* ‘female slave’, Panjabi *laūḍī* ‘servant girl’, *laūḍā* ‘boy, servant’, etc.—all derived from OInd. **lavaṇḍa*- ‘boy; servant’. In New Iran., cf. Pashto *lawand* ‘bachelor, unmarried, single man; an alien male having no right to enter the women’s part of the tent; reveller, playboy’, *lawāṇḍa* ‘impudent woman’, *lawandtyā* ‘immodesty; licentiousness; perversity’ (CDIAL: N 10984).

19. نخری [nu/axrī] ‘first-born child’

• Cf. also نخير (ی) [naxīr(ī)] ‘id.’ and Arabicised abstract نخریت [nuxrīyyat] ‘the status of being a first-born child’ (Dehxodā: s.v.). Also, possibly, نوخره /nwxrh/, the name of a fairy tale hero in *Marzbān-nāma*. Vāv here, like in J.-Pers., features rather as *mater lectionis*. Several occurrences of this word (*nuxrah* ‘firstling; firstborn child’) can be identified in the Vatican J.-Pers. Pentateuch:⁵ *vhβl* ‘vvrđ’ *nyz* ‘vy’ *z* ***nvxrh***’ *gvspnd’n* ‘And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock’ (Gen. 4.4); *vgvft y’qb bpd̄r* ‘vy *mnm*’ *šv* ***nvxrh*** *tv* ‘And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy first-born’ (Gen. 27.19); *y’qb vpv̄sr’n* ‘vy ***nvxrh***’ *y’qb r’wbn* ‘Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob’s firstborn’ (Gen. 46.8).—Cf. in Pahl. Psalms *nxwlyg*, MMPers. *nxwryg* /*naxwarīg*/ ‘Primogenitus, first-born’. Among the living New Iranian dialects, seems to occur only in the Persian vernaculars of Isfahan and Aligudarz as *naxrī*, and in Kurdish, *nuxurī* (*nūxurī*, *naxrī*, *naxī*, *nixūrī*, and *nixrī*) ‘woman’s first-born child’; formally an adj. with *-ī* (< MIran. **-īk*). The J.-Pers. *nuxrah*, with *-ak*. Not to be confused with MMPers. *nwxwyr* /*noxwīr*/ ‘the first man, Adam’.—K. Barr (Andreas / Barr 1933: 139) explains the Pahl. form as a compound with *nox-* (cf. *noxzād*) and Avest. *raēk-* ‘linquere’, like NPers. *murdarēg*; M. Schwartz (apud

⁵ The editor transcribes the word as *bvxrh* (Paper 1965: 301, 332).

Chyet 2003: 423), with regard to the Kurdish forms, proposed **nahwa*- (IE **nas*- ‘nose’) ‘first, up, front’, plus MPers. *rētak* ‘child’.

A more feasible (although phonetically not impeccable) etymon, however, could be OIran. **naxwa-udara*- ‘first womb’; cf. NPers. vern. *šekam-e avval*, Kurd. *zikē avlin*, and Arm. dial. *aṛāji p’or*—all meaning literally ‘first womb’ and at the same time the ‘first-born child; firstling’. The NPers. *naxīr(i)* would be from **naxwa-udarya*-.

20. هلندور [halandōr] ‘sort of medical herb, a kind of rhubarb’

• The scribal variant هلندوز [halandōz], usually mentioned in Farhangs as a variant of *haland(ō)r*, is obviously a misspelling. In Karīmī 2002: N 7026, *halandōr* is qualified as ‘trefoil, clover, Trifolium (Tourn.) L.’. Here also probably خلندر [xalandur] ‘origanum, wild marjoram’ (FN: s.v.; LN, s.v.). Cf. Kurd. *halandōr* ‘marsh marigold, dandelion’, Talishi *halendōr*, *halamdūr* ‘type of wild plant used in food’, Arm. dial. *hālāndor*, *xələndor* ‘plant used as dying material’. At the same time, *xala/indōr* in Kurdish means ‘cheese made with first milk’ (see *Kurmancî* [a Kurdish weekly], no. 8, 1991) and ‘petit lait, premier lait de vache’ (Jaba/Justi 1879: 158); the same with Arm. *xələndor* meaning also ‘colostrum of an animal, which just gave birth’. Hardly different lexemes: for the interchangeability of plant-names with ‘cheese’ or ‘milk’, cf. Arm. dial. *panir* ‘cheese’ (*panraxot*) and ‘thyme’ (= *urc*), or *kat’naxot*, *kat’nacalik* (lit. ‘milk-grass’ and ‘milk-flower’); Kurd. *žāžik* (*žājik*) ‘sort of cheese’, and NPers. ژڙ [žāž] ‘thistle’, etc.—Probably a substrate term (< Hurrian?), as the ending -ōr shows (cf. Hurr. -uri/-ori, attested in Arm. *xnjor* ‘apple’ and *salor* (*šəlor*) ‘plum’), and, maybe, Arm. dial. *dandur* ‘purslane’⁶.

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⁶ A similar substrate “plant-affix”, -ar, can be postulated also for Cl. Arm. (already in the Bible) *banjar* ‘vegetation, plants’ (Kurd. *p’injār*, *p’anjar*, Turk. *pancar* ‘id.’ < Arm.).

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